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# Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

*Provisional*

**6338**th meeting

Monday, 14 June 2010, 10 a.m.

New York

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| *President*: | Mr. Heller | (Mexico) |
| *Members*: | Austria | Mr. Mayr-Harting |
| | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Li Baodong |
| | France | Mr. Araud |
| | Gabon | Mr. Issoze-Ngondet |
| | Japan | Mr. Takasu |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Salam |
| | Nigeria | Mr. Onemola |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Churkin |
| | Turkey | Mr. Apakan |
| | Uganda | Mr. Rugunda |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Mark Lyall Grant |
| | United States of America | Ms. Rice |

## Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

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10-40334 (E)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Chairperson of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur; Mr. Djibril Bassolé, Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator for Darfur; Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, Joint African Union-United Nations Special Representative for Darfur; and Mr. Haile Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Mbeki, Mr. Bassolé, Mr. Gambari and Mr. Menkerios. I now give the floor to Mr. Mbeki.

**Mr. Mbeki**: We would like to thank you, Mr. President, for giving us this opportunity to engage the Council on the issue of the Sudan.

As members will recall, the last time we were here, in December 2009, we informed the Council that the African Union (AU) had expanded our mandate to follow up on its decisions on Darfur on the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the process of democratization in the Sudan. Indeed, our Panel has been doing what it can to honour that mandate. In that regard, I am happy to inform the Council that, by common agreement, our Panel works in close cooperation with the three institutions that are playing a central role in assisting the people of the Sudan to resolve their problems. I refer here to the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) and the AU-United Nations Joint Chief Mediator for Darfur — all of which are correctly represented at this meeting and will, as the President has said, address the Council.

I am certain that there is no need for us to convince the Council about the importance of that cooperation, which enables our four institutions to share information, coordinate their actions and support one another while fully respecting their various mandates. On behalf of our Panel, I would like to take this opportunity once more to thank Joint Special Representative Ibrahim Gambari, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios and Joint Chief Mediator Djibril Bassolé for the opportunity that they have given to our Panel to work with them and the institutions they lead, which I am certain will greatly assist in accelerating progress towards meeting the goals on the Sudan, which are shared by the African Union and the United Nations.

In that regard, I am certain that the Council is aware of the fact of the Joint AU-United Nations meeting on the Sudan held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 7 May, and of the statement the two organizations issued at the end of that meeting, which reflects the scope of their shared understanding and coordinated approach. Similarly, the Council will also be familiar with the fact of the 8 May meeting, again held in Addis Ababa, convened by the AU and the United Nations, which brought together the representatives of the Governments and intergovernmental organizations that are actively involved in work to help resolve the challenges that the Sudan faces and which included all the countries neighbouring the Sudan.

We were indeed very pleased that that inclusive meeting again reached a common agreement on the approach towards the major challenges facing the Sudan and agreed that the AU and the United Nations should convene a bi-monthly consultative forum to ensure proper coordination of the interventions of the entirety of the international community. Once again, we are certain that the Council is familiar with the decisions adopted at that meeting. The joint conveners of the consultative forum, that is, the AU and the United Nations, are determined that the forum should meet as was agreed and effectively carry out the principal tasks for which it was established, namely, to ensure the effective coordination of international action on the Sudan.

As the Council is aware, the 8 May meeting agreed with the AU and the United Nations that the global political agreement on Darfur should be concluded this year, ahead of the holding of the Southern Sudan referendum. I am happy to say that the



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Government of the Sudan has agreed with that proposal. Accordingly, as did the 7 May and 8 May Addis Ababa meetings, we fully support the Doha negotiations, which are focused specifically on concluding a peace agreement involving all the belligerents, as well as a framework agreement. We therefore fully support the efforts of the Joint Chief Mediator, supported by the Government of the State of Qatar, to bring all the belligerents into the peace negotiations with a view to concluding those negotiations as speedily as possible. Similarly, we support the efforts of the Mediator and Qatar to mobilize Darfur civil society to support the Doha peace process.

Again as agreed at the 7 and 8 May meetings, we will take steps immediately to prepare for the convening of the fully inclusive process, in the form of a Darfur-Darfur conference targeted at concluding a global political agreement. Again, I am happy to inform the Council that the Government of the Sudan has agreed to that. In that regard, I should also mention that, when we return to the Sudan later this month, we will engage the officials designated by the Government of the Sudan to work on the details relating to the implementation of the decisions of the African Union on the issues of justice and reconciliation in Darfur. Our intention in this context is that, by the time the Darfur-Darfur conference considers the item of justice and reconciliation, we should have agreed on all the relevant details with the Government of the Sudan.

With regard to Darfur, we would also like to mention that when we return to the Sudan later this month, we will again join the Government and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur to consider a detailed programme to improve the security situation in Darfur. The meeting will also take into account proposals on this important issue that have been elaborated by the United States Special Envoy, General Scott Gration.

Sustained improvement in the security situation in Darfur would help to create the conditions to help the refugees and internally displaced persons to realize their wish to return to the villages from which they were forcibly removed. In this regard, it is obvious that such voluntary returns as may take place will have to be accompanied by a process of reconstruction and development to assist the returnees to resettle and build better lives for themselves.

With regard to matters relating to the CPA, the Panel has convened for 21 June the first meeting of the teams that will negotiate the post-referendum arrangements, taking into account both possible outcomes of the Southern Sudan referendum. This meeting will mark the beginning of the post-referendum negotiations. As agreed with the CPA parties, the Panel will then be on standby to assist the parties in the event that they require intervention to resolve any of the matters on the post-referendum agenda.

Again, as agreed with the parties, the Panel will work with them to help resolve outstanding CPA matters, in particular the finalization of matters relating to the North-South border, as well as Abyei. We will work on these matters together with UNMIS, as we will with regard to supporting the newly-constituted Southern Sudan Referendum Commission, bearing in mind the urgency that attends all these CPA issues. Similarly, later this month we will begin work, especially with UNMIS and the Sudan Council of Churches, aimed at helping to end the communal conflicts in Southern Sudan which continue to claim many lives.

We will also continue to work, particularly with the political parties in Southern Sudan, as we did during the general elections, to help prepare the conditions to ensure that the January 2011 Southern Sudan and Abyei referendums are free and fair. In this regard, we are confident that UNMIS will play a vital role to assist in organizing those referendums.

We will also continue to attend to the important issue of the further democratization of the Sudan. In this regard, in particular, we are working towards convening a forum of the Sudanese political parties that will seek to develop a national consensus on the major challenges facing the country, including the process of democratization.

Like the Sudanese themselves and our United Nations partners, our Panel is fully conscious of the complexity of all the matters I have mentioned and the time pressures under which the correct solutions have to be found. In this regard, and to conclude, we would like to take this opportunity to thank the United Nations, the European Union, other intergovernmental organizations, and individual Governments, including members of this Council, for the support they have

extended to the Panel to empower us to do the work expected of us.

We are pleased that both this Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council remain seized of the question of the Sudan, convinced that this will assist those of us on the AU Panel on the Sudan, in UNAMID, UNMIS and the Darfur mediation more effectively and expeditiously to discharge our responsibilities.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Mbeki for his statement.

I now give the floor to Mr. Menkerios.

**Mr. Menkerios**: I would like to begin by thanking the Council for this opportunity to report on the situation in the Sudan, specifically on the remaining phases in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Let me state at the very outset that both signatories to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement — the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) — continue to express commitment to the full implementation of the CPA, including the timely conduct of the referendums in Southern Sudan and Abyei, as well as the popular consultations in the Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states. They also continue to reiterate their readiness to respect the outcomes of these processes. So far, the parties have maintained progress in CPA implementation without major breakdowns emerging from the recent elections with parallel victories. As they approach the end of the implementation period, the stakes are higher as they face the outcomes in the referendums and the final phases of the 2005 peace agreement.

The path ahead is certainly not without challenges and could be divided into two broad phases. First, the peaceful and credible conduct of the referendums in Southern Sudan and Abyei, scheduled for 9 January 2011, and popular consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states. The second, perhaps more important challenge is the peaceful implementation of the outcomes of these processes.

The immediate tasks that remain for the proper and timely implementation of the CPA are the formation of the Government of National Unity and the Government of Southern Sudan; the formation and launching of the referendums commissions for Southern Sudan and Abyei; the demarcation of the North-South border, as well as the Abyei border; the commencement of the popular consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile; and the initiation of and progress on negotiations between the parties on post-referendum arrangements. Both parties are preoccupied with the formation of their respective Governments — a task we expect to be announced within this week or the next.

Widespread concerns exist about the tight time frame for the preparation and conduct of the referendums. The postponement of the national elections from January 2009, as originally scheduled, to April 2010 diminished the time available to prepare for and conduct the referendums. Since the announcement of the election results, the key priority has been and continues to be the formation and establishment of the referendum commissions for Southern Sudan and Abyei. There is no more time to lose.

On the referendum in Southern Sudan, I am glad to inform the Council that the two sides have agreed on the formation of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and last week tabled their proposal to Parliament for approval, which is expected in the next few days. The United Nations awaits the formation of the Commission to start working with it. The priority for the Commission, once established, is to develop an operational plan and a budget so that resource needs can be identified and mobilized. In addition, the Commission needs to set up offices at all administrative levels, recruit and train staff, conduct voter registration, oversee the conduct of the referendum and announce its outcome. This is a tall order. I believe that if the parties act and cooperate on their commitments with the sense of urgency the situation calls for, a timely conduct of the referendums is possible, albeit challenging.

As requested by the Council, the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) is finalizing its plans and preparations to assist the parties with the conduct of the referendums and the popular consultations on time, consistent with the provisions of the CPA. The parties need to be encouraged — indeed, urged — to push on with the necessary preparations without further delay.

On the referendum in Abyei, the parties have not yet agreed on who is eligible to vote. This issue has

been referred to the Abyei referendum commission to finalize. While the parties have nominated their members to the Commission, differences persist on who should chair it, as the chairperson would have the deciding vote, including on eligibility. The resolution of the eligibility issue and establishment of a commission are top priorities for the Abyei referendum process to commence. Moreover, demarcation of Abyei's borders on the basis of the Permanent Court of Arbitration decision continues to be stalled, for reasons related to the lack of agreement on residency and eligibility to vote in the referendum. My impression from informal discussions with the parties, the NCP in particular, is that the issues of residency and border demarcation in Abyei are unlikely to be easily resolved outside a broader post-referendum agreement on grazing rights, resource sharing and citizenship, among other issues.

The Ad Hoc Technical Border Committee has presented its report to the parties, in which it describes areas of agreement regarding the border and sections where it was unable to agree. It is a welcome development that the Committee has, with United Nations technical and logistical support, started to demarcate the sections of the border it has agreed upon, with the exception of Abyei, citing security threats. It is imperative, however, that the parties settle the remaining contentious parts of the border and demarcate them before the referendum is held.

The CPA gives the people of the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states the right to decide on their future governance through a process of popular consultations. These are to be conducted by elected state assemblies and should provide an opportunity for a fresh approach to centre-periphery and minority issues that, if properly implemented, could serve as a model for the rest of the Sudan. However, a potential continuation of the original North-South conflict is also possible if the process is not handled with the transparency and openness it demands. It is also of concern that the timeline for the meaningful conduct of these consultations remain tight, especially in Southern Kordofan, due to the postponement of the census and elections.

During my most recent briefing to the Council, I emphasized that unity and secession do not need to be a zero-sum game for the North and the South. It is thus advisable for the two sides to continue to cooperate for their mutual benefit, whether in unity or separation. The goal of making unity attractive, therefore, should be a long-term one, irrespective of the outcome. In interactions with the leaders of the two parties, we have advised that separation should not be considered a divorce, and that in the case of a vote for separation, maintaining close linkages between the South and the North is in the interests of both.

In this regard, agreement on post-referendum arrangements not only becomes crucial for long-term peace and stability in the Sudan and the region, but will also seriously affect the smooth implementation of the CPA in the remaining phases of the interim period. Accordingly, the parties have been engaged in discussions and must be encouraged and supported in reaching agreement on key issues of common concern. Formal negotiations between the parties are scheduled to start on 21 June with the assistance of the African Union (AU) High-Level Implementation Panel, and we will be fully supporting this effort.

The security situation around much of the border and within Southern Sudan remains of great concern. Sporadic clashes between the Misseriya and Rizeigat armed militias and the SPLM around the borders of Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Western Bahr el-Ghazal have continued. Within Southern Sudan, rebellious armed elements in Unity and Jonglei states in particular continue to cause security risks, as does the Lord's Resistance Army in Western Equatoria. UNMIS continues to work with the parties to help address these security threats.

The overall situation in Southern Sudan requires a concerted and comprehensive capacity-building effort, irrespective of the outcome of the referendum. This effort would, as an immediate priority, require a coherent strategy on security sector reform and institutional capacity-building. A development plan that focuses on the provision of basic services in the short term and sustained economic growth in the long term is also a must. The Government of Southern Sudan, with the assistance of the United Nations country team and other partners, is in the process of refining such a plan. It is only through such a multifaceted approach that we can help ensure a peaceful transition and effective protection of civilians both in the short and long terms.

The United Nations has stood firm in its commitment to assisting the parties in implementing the CPA. UNMIS and the United Nations country team

stand ready to help them to conclude this peace process in a way that contributes to continuing peace, stability and progress. With regard to support for the referendums, the United Nations is ready to extend technical and logistical assistance to the two commissions as soon as they become operational. We have been providing and will continue to provide the requisite assistance for the conduct of the popular consultations. In order to support these processes, we have planned and begun to redeploy resources and staff to locations beyond those covered during the elections.

The UNMIS military contingent is in the process of identifying possible hotspots and revising its deployment accordingly. We will continue to train and help develop the institutional capacity of the Southern Sudan Police Service. As requested by the Council, we have revised and are implementing a more effective approach to the protection of civilians, which is no longer a task entrusted to a particular unit but is an integral component of all Mission operations. The strategy being implemented entails reinforced presence at the state level where a state coordinator manages and directs the efforts of all Mission components to protect civilians; a more flexible military deployment will further enhance this effort.

In partnership with the AU High-Level Implementation Panel, and in collaboration with other key partners, we have been engaging the parties on all processes that require further agreement and shall continue to do so. In this regard, a consultative forum involving key international stakeholders met in Addis Ababa in May and agreed to support the partnership of the AU and the United Nations in taking the lead on facilitating progress and cooperation in the peaceful implementation of the CPA and beyond.

International monitoring of the referendums is another important issue. The political significance of the referendums to the future of the people of the Sudan, and indeed to the whole region, has led to calls by the two parties that they be conducted in a transparent and credible manner, and thus with much closer scrutiny by the international community than the elections received. In fact, the two parties have separately informed UNMIS that they desire United Nations engagement at a much greater level than during the elections to help ensure that the referendums are prepared and conducted without any interference from one side or the other. This implies a wider scope of engagement for UNMIS that exceeds its current mandate. We have advised both parties that they should jointly define this greater level of United Nations engagement and present their request to the Organization together. We await this joint request to pass it on to the Secretary-General.

In all this, the international community must not only encourage and urge the parties to stay the course to ensure the timely conclusion of CPA implementation and continued peace and mutual benefit, but also assist them in this endeavour. This will require political and material support both in the conduct of the remaining processes and in ensuring a soft landing in the post-referendum period.

There is much at stake for the future of the people of the Sudan, the region and the African continent in the outcome of the referendums and popular consultations. The Sudan is a microcosm of Africa, and its stability or instability will have far-reaching implications. Alongside the exercise of self-determination for the peoples of Southern Sudan and Abyei, and popular consultations in the concerned states, the Sudan needs to be encouraged and assisted to expand the democratic space opened by the recent elections and establish a broad-based system of national governance that will lead to a more equitable society and durable peace.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Menkerios for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Gambari.

**Mr. Gambari**: I am very pleased and honoured to address the members of the Security Council for the second time in less than a month. Unlike my previous briefing (see S/PV.6318), during which I had the opportunity to introduce the Secretary-General's report on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), this briefing is mainly on the unfolding security situation in Darfur and how it affects the life of ordinary citizens, as well as its implications for the work of UNAMID and the international community. I will also comment briefly on UNAMID's engagement in the political process on the ground in Darfur in collaboration with the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel under the leadership of President Mbeki and Joint Chief Mediator Bassolé.

On 20 May (see S/PV.6318), I informed Council members that, during the first week of the month of

May, parts of Darfur witnessed a serious escalation of hostilities between the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) of Khalil Ibrahim and Government forces. It saddens me to inform the Council that the fighting between the two belligerent parties is still continuing and that the security situation in parts of Darfur remains tense and volatile.

Following JEM's withdrawal from the Jebel Moon area, JEM forces are now spread in small pockets in North and Southern Darfur, notably in the areas towards Southern Kordofan, engaging Government forces in offensive and defensive clashes. Of great concern is the unprecedented increase in the number of fatalities, resulting largely from the recent clashes: 447 deaths were recorded for the month of May 2010 alone.

Movement of equipment and the build-up of troops continue to be witnessed on both sides, and it is expected, unfortunately, that the military confrontations may indeed continue for some time unless urgent efforts to ensure a ceasefire are made by the international community.

As members of the Council are aware, UNAMID's core mandate remains focused on the protection of civilians. In implementing its strategy for the protection of civilians, UNAMID is continuing to intensify its military and police patrols through progressive increases in its medium- and long-range patrols, as well as strengthening joint civilian and military 24/7 patrolling of selected camps for internally displaced persons. New directives have also been recently issued to the military and police components of UNAMID with regard to robust patrolling and to a robust response to attacks on our military and police personnel. This was reflected in the response of Senegalese police during a recent attack on them in Western Darfur.

As part of this new strategy, and with a view to making this activity more effective and efficient, UNAMID is planning, in collaboration with the relevant Government of Sudan authorities, to assist in opening more roads and rehabilitating others in order to increase access and expand the scope of the Mission's protection mandate. These actions are being taken in coordination with other protection actors such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNICEF. Meanwhile, UNAMID continues to provide full assistance and logistical support to the humanitarian community in order to expand humanitarian space and access.

The recent upsurge in fighting has created very serious hindrances to the effective implementation of UNAMID's protection mandate, as well as to the provision of humanitarian assistance to those in dire need of such support and assistance. Since the renewed fighting began, civilian populations have moved away from places where the fighting and aerial bombardments were taking place. From Jebel Moon, they moved towards the Chadian border and to areas east of Jebel Moon as well as to some urban centres, including El Fasher. From the hot spots in Jebel Marra and South Darfur, they went into hiding in more secure locations around those areas.

As a result of the denial of access as well as logistical constraints and security concerns, it has not been possible to determine the exact numbers, but the figures for persons displaced as a result of the recent fighting range between 10,000 and 50,000 in the region. Of greatest concern is the continuing denial of access for the humanitarian community to large parts of Jebel Marra since the onset of fighting there in February 2010. An assessment mission to the lowlands of eastern Jebel Marra took place at the beginning of April, but follow-up has been impossible to date due to the worsening of the security situation and lack of access to areas controlled either by the Government of Sudan or the Sudan Liberation Army-Abdel Wahid faction. Overall, these new displacements are posing great challenges in terms of delivery of humanitarian assistance and provision of basic services to those in need. However, in the last week, there has been no fighting reported, and JEM has in fact signalled its willingness to release some prisoners.

Meanwhile, UNAMID continues to engage in ongoing negotiations with the Government authorities and the armed movements in order to ensure wider access, including for humanitarian assessment missions, to the deep field locations where increased violence and displacements have been witnessed. On 10 June, just last Thursday, I met with Vice-President Ali Osman Taha, with whom I raised the very serious concerns of both UNAMID and the humanitarian community on the security agencies' restriction of access to areas of recent clashes, which has prevented access to affected populations and other displaced and wounded persons in those locations.

I am pleased to note that, shortly after our meeting, the Government of the Sudan gave instructions to the relevant agencies to allow, immediately and

wherever possible, access for both UNAMID and the humanitarian agencies. It was also agreed at my follow-up meeting at the Foreign Ministry that a meeting would be held shortly between UNAMID, the Sudanese Armed Forces and the national intelligence and security services to discuss these issues and carry them further. I have accordingly instructed the Force Commander to follow up on this immediately. I am informed that the Government of Sudan has lifted the ban on helicopter flights, as of yesterday, 13 June 2010.

It is essential for the international community, and in particular for those States with leverage on the belligerents, to impress on them the need for an immediate cessation of hostilities accompanied by unfettered and unhindered access for UNAMID, the United Nations country team and humanitarian agencies to all areas of recent clashes in order to facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistance to the affected populations and displaced persons. Only then will the security situation facilitate and enhance the possibility for a negotiated settlement through the Doha peace process, on which my colleague, Mr. Djibril Bassolé will shortly be briefing the members of the Council. It is essential to reiterate to all concerned that there can be no military solution to the Darfur crisis and that a speedy return by all to negotiations is the only viable option.

Let me now briefly turn to the other issue on the Council's agenda relating to the complementary political process in Darfur. One of UNAMID's mandated tasks is to support and assist the Joint Chief Mediator in his work to bring the parties and the stakeholders together to agree on a comprehensive peace agreement. In this regard, coordination and collaboration between UNAMID and the Joint Mediation at all levels is going on smoothly. UNAMID has a key role to play with respect to the inputs from civil society in the ongoing talks, the design of ceasefire implementation mechanisms and the actual implementation of those agreements.

As part of this collaboration, UNAMID now has the responsibility to organize and lead, along with the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel, a Darfur conference to facilitate public agreement on issues related to the peace process. The conference aims to facilitate the achievement of an inclusive and comprehensive political settlement for Darfur by or hopefully before the end of this year in advance of the referendum for Southern Sudan. While coordination in this regard is currently ongoing with both the Implementation Panel and the Mediation, UNAMID is finalizing plans to ensure that all the diverse groups and populations of Darfur are given the opportunity to make substantial inputs to the negotiations and to the outcome of discussions on the future of their region and the future of their country.

This is where we are at the moment in Darfur. I hope that, after its deliberations on these important and topical issues, the Council will provide support and guidance for our work in our collective efforts to bring peace and stability to the whole of Sudan — because Darfur cannot be considered in isolation from the whole of Sudan. In addition to support and action in bringing current fighting in Darfur to an end and encouraging all the parties, including encouraging those who are still outside the Doha process to join it, the support of the Council will also be needed to encourage those Member States that are in a position to do so to provide critical enablers to UNAMID to enhance its effectiveness in implementing its core mandate. This includes but is not limited to the provision of medium utility helicopters, transport companies and aerial reconnaissance units. I am sure we can count on the continuing support of the Security Council on these matters.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Gambari for his briefing. I now give the floor to Mr. Bassolé.

**Mr. Bassolé** (*spoke in French*): At the outset I would like to convey to you, Sir, and to the members of the Security Council our gratitude for the Council's consistent interest in and support for the peace process in Darfur and to the work of the Joint Mediation Team, which I lead in an exemplary and fruitful partnership with the State of Qatar and the support of regional and international partners.

I welcome the opportunity afforded me today to brief the Council on the results we have achieved to date, and especially to share with the Council the activities of the Mediation Team within the framework of the Doha negotiations, the ultimate goal of which is to achieve a final, inclusive and comprehensive peace agreement in Darfur.

It will be recalled that, in order to achieve this objective, the mediators — in consultation with the United Nations, the African Union, the League of Arab States and regional actors — had decided to focus their

efforts concomitantly on three main axes: direct dialogue and negotiations among the parties to the conflict; raising awareness and involving civil society in the peace process; and improving relations between Chad and the Sudan. With the backing of the international community, these efforts resulted in the signing in Doha of a Framework Agreement on 23 February 2010 between the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Government of National Unity of the Sudan, which was initialled in N'Djamena, and a Framework Agreement for a ceasefire on 18 March between the Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM) and the Government of the Sudan.

Along with the recommendations of the first forum of Darfur's civil society, these agreements constitute the reference points and the agenda of the peace negotiations, which resumed on 6 June in Doha. Indeed, following the suspension of peace negotiations on 7 April, due to the schedule of the recent elections in the Sudan, the mediators invited the signatories of the Framework Agreements to Doha to continue efforts to finalize the final peace negotiations. I take this opportunity to draw Council members' attention to the fact that the Government of the Sudan and the LJM have seized the opportunity of the resumption to reaffirm their commitment to the Doha peace process as the only forum for peace negotiations on Darfur.

The important issues for the newly launched negotiations are to finalize the ceasefire agreements and security arrangements with the assistance of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), and to draft the terms of reference for a peace agreement based on the Sudan People's Initiative, civil society recommendations contained in the Doha Declaration, the achievements of the Darfur Peace Agreements, the recommendations of the African Union High-Level Panel for Darfur and the Heidelberg Darfur Dialogue Outcome Document, as well as the peace offers and proposals of the parties to the conflict.

If definitive and lasting peace is to be achieved in Darfur, it is imperative that all armed movements without exception adhere to the peace negotiations. The mediators will therefore pursue their consultations with Mr. Khalil Ibrahim aimed at bringing the JEM back to the negotiation table so that, as a priority and in conformity with the commitments contained in the agreements of 17 February 2009 and 20 February 2010, the Government and the JEM can finalize and adopt the draft ceasefire agreement submitted by the mediators on 3 March 2010, as well as the draft agenda. The Government of the Sudan and the JEM must cease their armed clashes, or risk irreparably undermining all efforts to promote peace, security, reconciliation and socio-economic development both in Darfur and the neighbouring region of Eastern Chad.

In addition to the effective involvement of all armed movements of Darfur in the peace negotiations, the role of civil society is also of special importance, as stipulated in paragraph 10 of resolution 1828 (2008) and paragraph 6 of the Framework Agreement of 18 March 2010 concluded between the Government and the JLM. This is why, in conformity with the Doha Declaration of 20 November 2009, the mediators and the State of Qatar, with the assistance of UNAMID, will, during the first half of the month of July 2010, convene the second forum of civil society representatives of Darfur, who represent displaced persons, refugees, women, young people, opinion leaders and all components of the Darfurian community.

The main objective of the forum will be to back the efforts of the Mediators to assist the parties to the conflict in defining the objectives to be achieved and to determine the modalities for the implementation of any peace agreement to the benefit of the people of Darfur. In addition, it will enable the mediators to promote civil society ownership of the process for emerging from the crisis.

Before the convening of the forum, a group of some 100 refugees and displaced persons will participate in the Doha negotiations starting 24 June 2010, side by side with the delegations of the JLM and the Government. Following these discussions, the mediators will propose to the parties that they sign a protocol for an agreement on compensation, the voluntary return of displaced persons and their socio-economic reintegration. The launching of the implementation of such a protocol will be a test of the good will of the parties to the conflict to find satisfactory solutions to crucial problems facing the people of Darfur, who have been battered by the war.

Today, despite the very bloody clashes of recent weeks, to which Mr. Gambari has just referred and which constitute a violation of the agreements reached between the JEM and the Government, efforts in favour of peace are palpable. Indeed, the normalization of relations between the Sudan and Chad, and the

general elections that took place on 13 April are factors conducive to the achievement of peace and stability in Darfur.

It is, however, incumbent on the Government of National Unity of the Sudan, in its implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement and the decisions of the Sudan People's Initiative and within the framework of the Doha peace negotiations, to make significant concessions that will promote the establishment of an environment of genuine security and justice in Darfur, the resolution of land disputes, reparation and compensation for damages caused by the armed conflict, the social reintegration of displaced persons and refugees, socio-economic development, and institutional reforms likely to provide the people of Darfur with the benefits of decentralization and good governance, among others.

The mediators will target their efforts towards a successful conclusion of the peace negotiations in Doha. No effort will be spared to ensure the effective participation of all the armed movements of Darfur in this final phase of negotiations. The time has come to put an end to the crisis in Darfur. I therefore request Council members to encourage the Sudan and Chad to continue improving their relations of good-neighbourliness and trust in order to strengthen security on their joint border with Darfur; to demand that the Government and the JEM immediately cease hostilities and effectively implement article 1 of the Framework Agreement of 23 February 2010; and to encourage all the armed movements of Darfur and the Government to make dialogue the only way to resolve the crisis and to commit firmly to the negotiations process which is under way in Doha.

Finally, the communiqué of the advisory meeting on the Sudan, which was held on 8 May in Addis Ababa, stipulates in paragraph 9 that every effort must be made to ensure that a political agreement on the crisis in Darfur be achieved before the referendum of January 2011. The meeting also underscored the need for the peace process in Darfur to be inclusive and to take into account all issues of concern to the people of Darfur, bearing in mind the progress achieved within the framework of the Doha process, which must continue.

Directly in line with these recommendations, my colleagues Mr. Gambari and Mr. Haile Menkerios and myself have consulted among ourselves and with President Thabo Mbeki on a coordinated approach to our peace efforts in the Sudan. In this regard, the mediation has drawn up a schedule of negotiations that will enable us to finalize partial protocols and then an inclusive and final agreement as quickly as possible. The agreement, which will be open to all the parties to the conflict, should mark the end of international mediation as a means to resolve the crisis in Darfur and promote ways and means to effectively implement the consensus that will have been achieved with the involvement of civil society.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Bassolé for his briefing.

I now give the floor to members of the Security Council.

**Sir Mark Lyall Grant** (United Kingdom): I would like to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome this morning to Mr. Mbeki and to thank him for the important work that he is doing in the Sudan. I would also like to thank him, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Menkerios, Joint Special Representative Gambari and Joint Chief Mediator Bassolé for their briefings to the Council this morning.

This is a defining moment for the Sudan and for this Council, with over 30,000 peacekeepers on the ground in Darfur, Abyei, Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan and Southern Sudan. The Council has more invested in the Sudan than in any other agenda item. There is no greater challenge facing the Security Council over the next 12 months than supporting the parties in securing peace and prosperity for the people of the Sudan.

I would like to focus on three specific themes: the lead-up to the referendum on self-determination for Southern Sudan under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), efforts to support longer-term constructive relations between Northern and Southern Sudan, and the continuing imperative of working to end the conflict in Darfur.

With now less than seven months before the referendum, we should focus on how we can best support the Sudanese parties to ensure a full and peaceful implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. We should not prejudge the results of the referendum, but we should be clear that it must take place on time. There must be a credible result beyond dispute. Either outcome — unity or succession — can lead to peaceful and friendly relations between the

North and the South. It is our collective responsibility to do whatever we can to ensure such a peaceful outcome.

Much remains to be done. We must continue to urge both parties to engage in serious and sustained dialogue to reach agreement on the outstanding CPA milestones. These include the urgent establishment of the referendum commissions for Southern Sudan and Abyei, as we have heard from Mr. Menkerios this morning, and a clear focus on the popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan. We need to see a much greater sense of urgency in preparing for the referendum.

But we must also look beyond the referendum. Northern and Southern Sudan will remain neighbours and essential partners regardless of the outcome of the referendum. We must encourage the parties to approach the issues with a view to their longer-term shared interests. This is not a zero-sum game. They will need to cooperate if they are to have a peaceful, prosperous future, whatever is decided next January.

Our immediate focus should be to encourage dialogue between the parties on the issues and arrangements relating to the post-referendum period and to support this process. In particular, we must encourage the parties as a matter of urgency to agreed demarcation of the North-South border, citizenship rights and arrangements for wealth-sharing, particularly regarding oil. We must also consider what capacity-building support we can provide to Southern Sudan to help it meet its longer-term development and security challenges and to address the severe humanitarian situation. And we should support the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) in its planning for what assistance the United Nations might provide after the end of the interim period.

We must not forget that the challenges the Sudan faces are closely linked. It is only by addressing them together that we can ensure a truly stable future for the Sudan's people. So we must continue to focus on Darfur, where more than 2.5 million people remain displaced from their homes by ongoing conflict. And we must also not forget Eastern Sudan, where the humanitarian indicators are some of the worst in the world.

In Darfur, as Mr. Bassolé has said, an inclusive, comprehensive, negotiated agreement that focuses on the causes and consequences of the conflict is the only route to lasting peace. As we have heard again today from Mr. Gambari about the increase in hostilities across Darfur, we must urge all sides to show their commitment to peace and security by ceasing hostilities and engaging in the Doha process.

We must all — first and foremost the Sudanese parties themselves — step up our engagement to meet the challenges ahead. It is ultimately only the parties themselves who can ensure a peaceful outcome. They must show the political leadership and the vision necessary for this task. This means engaging in serious and sustained dialogue to reach agreement on the issues I have mentioned.

The Security Council has a central role to play. The Council's leadership on the challenges ahead will be critical as we approach the referendum. The Council needs to take a truly strategic approach, looking forward and anticipating the difficult decisions ahead without anticipating any particular referendum outcome. The work of the United Nations missions in the Sudan, both UNMIS and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, will remain vital in supporting the implementation of the CPA, particularly the referendum, and in providing security and protection for civilians in Southern Sudan and Darfur.

As we have heard this morning, the strong engagement of the African Union, and particularly the Sudan's neighbours, will also be critical in securing long-term peace in the Sudan. We commend in particular the leadership of Mr. Mbeki and the work of his Panel, and we look forward to close collaboration between the United Nations and the African Union on the challenges ahead.

Finally, I hope that the presidency will be able to reflect our discussions in some agreed remarks to the press, a draft of which has been circulated to Council members.

**Ms. Rice** (United States of America): Let me begin by thanking President Thabo Mbeki, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Menkerios, Joint Special Representative Gambari and Joint Chief Mediator Bassolé for their very helpful assessments and briefings to the Council this morning. The United States strongly supports their efforts to address the situation in the Sudan.

I will focus today on three areas: the remaining tasks for the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the Darfur peace process, and the overwhelming importance of protecting civilians.

With the referendums fast approaching, all parties must redouble their efforts to begin referendum planning for Southern Sudan and Abyei. Referendum commissions must be appointed immediately to begin the difficult work of operational and budget planning, voter registration, education, logistics and administration. This includes resolving the difficult and sensitive issue of who is eligible to vote in Abyei. We must also continue to press the parties to completely demarcate the North-South and Abyei borders, and we must continue to urge them to prepare for popular consultations, which provide a vital outlet for the people of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile to express their views on the CPA and their States' relationships with Khartoum.

Progress depends not only on the political will of the parties, but also on support from the international community. We must lay the groundwork now so that we will be prepared to provide as much immediate assistance as possible as conditions on the ground allow. Regardless of the outcomes of the referendums, attention should be paid now to the steps that must be taken to promote a sustainable relationship between the parties to the CPA beyond July 2011. Progress must be made towards reaching agreements on post-referendum wealth-sharing and citizenship, among other issues. The international community stands ready to provide diplomatic and technical support, but the parties themselves must be willing to negotiate in earnest to resolve these difficult issues.

With respect to elections, let me reiterate that the April elections were characterized by serious irregularities, including restrictions on political freedoms, reports of logistical and administrative challenges, harassment and intimidation by security forces and concerns regarding the tabulation process. Thirty-three constituencies still need to conduct or re-run elections, including the Southern Kordofan legislative assembly. Without those elections, Southern Kordofan cannot conduct its popular consultations.

We also remain deeply concerned about the atmosphere of increasing political repression in Khartoum by the Government of the Sudan and the deplorable environment for civil and political rights in the north. This includes the arrest of opposition leaders, journalists and peaceful demonstrators. There have been reports of restrictions on basic liberties in the south as well. We remind the Governments of Sudan and Southern Sudan that they must honour their international obligations to respect human rights, including freedom of expression, assembly and the press.

We hope for a renewed focus on the Doha peace process and strongly believe that the best way to end conflict and resolve Darfur's marginalization is by finding a comprehensive political solution. The situation in Darfur affects the stability of the region as a whole. We urge the international community to continue to support the negotiation process in Doha, and we reiterate our call on all parties to come to the negotiating table.

Accountability and peace are inextricably bound together. The United States strongly supports international efforts to bring those responsible for genocide and war crimes in Darfur to justice, and we firmly believe that there cannot be a lasting peace in Darfur without accountability and justice. So, we call again on the Government of Sudan and all other parties to the conflict to cooperate fully with the International Criminal Court (ICC) and its Prosecutor, as required by Security Council resolution 1593 (2005).

The Council heard a disturbing briefing from ICC Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo on Friday (see S/PV.6337). It is clearer than ever that the Government of Sudan continues to violate the Council's resolutions, including its obligation to cooperate with the ICC under resolution 1593 (2005). We are deeply concerned by the 25 May Pre-Trial Chamber decision informing the Council of the Government of Sudan's failure to cooperate with the Court.

We call again on the Government of Sudan and all parties to the conflict to cooperate fully with the ICC and its Prosecutor, as clearly required by resolution 1593 (2005). Moreover, we urge all States, including those not party to the Rome Statute, to refrain from providing political or financial support to Sudanese suspects indicted by the ICC.

We have repeatedly emphasized and will continue to emphasize the need to place the highest priority on the protection of civilians. We are gravely concerned by the continuing insecurity and violence faced by the civilian population in Sudan. In particular, we are deeply disturbed by the recent large-scale offensive of

the Sudanese Armed Forces against the Justice and Equality Movement in Darfur. The Government of Sudan continues to conduct aerial bombardments in Darfur. These actions kill and maim civilians and result in the additional displacement of innocent Darfuris.

We are also deeply concerned about continued violence in the south, including intercommunal violence and attacks by the Lord's Resistance Army. Since last January, 440,000 people have been displaced in the south. The United States further deplores the continued attacks on the personnel of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and the Government of Sudan's continued obstruction of access to UNAMID and other humanitarian actors, which hinders independent monitoring in Darfur.

Despite direct attacks on its peacekeepers, UNAMID has played an essential role in ensuring security for humanitarian assistance providers in Sudan. But security is the primary responsibility of the Government of Sudan. It must make increased efforts to bring those who attack civilians and peacekeepers to justice. It is important that the Government of Sudan provide unfettered access for UNAMID. Neither UNAMID nor humanitarian organizations have had adequate access to areas of continued conflict in Darfur. With the lives of more innocent civilians at stake, that is unconscionable and unacceptable.

It is also important to redouble efforts to end the sexual violence that plagues Darfur. During the recent fighting in Jebel Marra, UNAMID documented nine cases of such violence, including rape, attempted rape and assault. That is part of a trend that has continued for far too long. It must end. The Government of Sudan, UNAMID and other United Nations entities, as well as the non-governmental organization community, must strengthen prevention and tools to respond to sexual and gender-based violence. We urge UNAMID to increase its reporting on sexual and gender-based violence to the Council and call on the Government of Sudan to ensure that such crimes are investigated and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

We urge UNAMID and the United Nations Mission in the Sudan also to utilize the full extent of their mandates and capabilities to protect civilians in danger. In Darfur, accelerating the training for community police services for the internally displaced in camps and those voluntarily returning to their villages of origin would help promote peace and security.

In the south, we urge the Government of Southern Sudan to develop a security framework ahead of the referendum and to ensure that its capacity exists to protect its own population. UNMIS must also increase efforts to ensure that civilians are protected from violence. Finally, we urge the Governments of Sudan and Southern Sudan, and all others, to lift any and all restrictions on the activities and movements of UNMIS.

We have less than seven months until the referendums, and there is still much work to be done. But the United States remains hopeful that, with the necessary political will of the parties and with adequate international support, the referendums can be conducted peacefully and successfully.

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to welcome President Mbeki and to express my deep appreciation for his wise efforts. I also welcome Mr. Menkerios, Mr. Bassole and Mr. Gambari and congratulate them on their efforts on behalf of the Sudan. I thank them for their valuable briefings.

The idea of this unusual meeting emerged during Security Council consultations on 11 February, when members expressed their wish to hold a in-depth discussion of the situation in the Sudan with the two mediators, President Mbeki and Mr. Bassolé, and the two Special Representatives, Mr. Gambari and Mr. Menkerios, in order to consider what can be done to help that large country address its challenges and overcome its crises and to reflect on what the United Nations can do in that regard.

We express our deep appreciation for the convening of today's meeting and for the goodwill that we perceive in support for the Sudan in meeting the historic challenges that it faces today. We hope that our efforts will be successful so as to benefit that country, and consequently the entire region and the African continent.

When we look at a number of issues before us — such as the monitoring of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the referendum in the South and its aftermath, the demarcation of the Abyei borders, the question of the wealth-sharing, the situation in Darfur, the humanitarian situation and the

displaced population — we see that the only option is to support the path towards peace based on political dialogue as the best way to settle the conflict in the Sudan, to establish peace and stability and to address all problems.

Five years after its signing, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement has proved both its effectiveness and the need for a thorough follow-up on the implementation of all its provisions. It would have been impossible to achieve any of these steps without the political will and determination of the Sudanese Government of National Unity and all other concerned parties.

As Council Members know, this meeting is being held only a few months before the scheduled referendum on the fate of the South, and thus at a very important stage in the history of the Sudan. In this context, Lebanon would like to emphasize the importance of the following points.

First, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Sudan must be respected.

Second, the success of the multi-level electoral process, which took place between 11 and 15 April, should be commended, despite its shortcomings, and considered an important step in guaranteeing the stability and sustainability of the implementation of all the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

Third, we call for continued efforts to guarantee the successful implementation of the referendum on the fate of the South, and we emphasize the importance of making unity an attractive option, in accordance with the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

Fourth, we support the negotiations for the post-referendum stage, regardless of the outcome of the referendum.

Fifth, we welcome the improved relations between the Sudan and Chad and the establishment of joint forces to monitor their common borders.

Sixth, we support efforts to achieve a comprehensive, final and peaceful solution in Darfur, and we commend the State of Qatar and its Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani for hosting the peace negotiations in Doha. We call upon all factions to return to the negotiating table and to resolve all disputed matters through dialogue. We call upon those States with influence to exert pressure on the remaining parties to join the negotiations.

Seventh, we caution against the danger of politicization and double standards in the work of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and we recall the substance of the resolutions of the League of Arab States rejecting the ICC decisions against President Omer Hassan Al-Bashir.

It goes without saying that political efforts should be accompanied by a social and economic plan to contribute to addressing the root causes of the crisis and the reconstruction of the Sudan.

In conclusion, we emphasize the importance of the ongoing cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union, and call on the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Arab League, the African Union and the Non-Aligned Movement to continue their essential coordination role in order to achieve peace and stability in the Sudan.

**Mr. Issoze-Ngondet** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I should like to thank you, Sir, for having organized this special meeting on the Sudan — a matter at the very heart of Gabon's concerns.

I should like to welcome the presence among us of President Mbeki, Djibril Bassolé, Ibrahim Gambari and Haile Menkerios and, of course, to thank them for their very enlightening briefings on the various aspects of the crisis in the Sudan. The briefings were particularly useful in presenting a holistic perspective on the Sudanese crisis and in clearly illustrating realities on the ground and the options under consideration for supporting the peace process in the Sudan. I welcome their ongoing efforts alongside the United Nations and the African Union to help the Sudanese people to return to the path to peace and stability. I reiterate, of course, the support of Gabon for their activities.

I appreciate the Ambassador of Lebanon's reminder of the context in which the Council wished to hold this meeting and the objectives envisaged for it. In the light of the relevant information that the briefers have just conveyed to us, three fundamental concerns need to be raised: the coordination of the activities of the international community with a view to achieving a holistic approach; the organization of the referendum in the best possible conditions; and the options under

consideration for effectively managing post-referendum challenges.

In addressing the first of these points, Gabon wishes to reaffirm its support for the peace process in Darfur and Southern Sudan. The Darfur Peace Agreement must be fully implemented. The Doha agreements of February and March 2010, signed, respectively, with the Justice and Equality Movement and the Justice and Liberation Movement, should encourage other rebel groups to join the peace process. We encourage the Sudanese Government to continue along this path. We call on those armed groups that have not yet done so to join the peace process under way in order to guarantee a lasting peace for the populations continue to pay a heavy price.

We are particularly pleased with the evolution in the discussions under way aimed at the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur. We commend the commitment of the Sudanese Government in this context. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Southern Sudan must be implemented to its full extent. Everything must be done to ensure that the referendum of January 2011 takes place in the best possible conditions and that its outcome, whichever option is chosen, will be a stabilizing factor. We remain convinced that the Comprehensive Peace Agreement is an inclusive political tool essential to resolving the crisis in Southern Sudan and achieving lasting peace in the country.

We should like to reiterate our support for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). We welcome the progress achieved in the deployment of UNAMID and the efforts of the contributing countries — Nepal, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and Tanzania — that have made these results possible. We also welcome the efforts of the Sudanese Government, whose cooperation has facilitated this evolution towards a slightly more secure and stable environment in Darfur. We reiterate our support for the United Nations Mission in the Sudan, whose efforts to protect the civilian population and to secure humanitarian assistance play an effective role in the peace process.

All these activities must be coordinated, and we welcome the statements of various actors expressing their total satisfaction with the cooperation of a number of parties to ensure that the process achieves positive results. We invite the United Nations, the African Union and all the other actors of the international community to maintain these coordination efforts and to ensure that the action being carried out in the context of the peace process is integrated and leads to the establishment of lasting peace in Southern Sudan.

I shall now turn to my second point, the organization of the referendum. Gabon is following the process under way with the keenest attention, and urges the United Nations, the Sudanese Government and the Government of Southern Sudan to do all they can to ensure that the referendum takes place in a peaceful climate. We believe that the assistance of the United Nations will be more than decisive, and in that respect we firmly support the efforts being made by Mr. Menkerios. We invite him to continue his consultations with the African Union and the countries of the region. We are convinced that the support of countries of the region and of the African Union will help to strengthen the credibility of the process.

I should like to draw the attention of Council members to my third point, which relates to the post-referendum challenges. I mention the various post-referendum challenges with the aim of focusing the actors involved in the peace processes in Southern Sudan and in Darfur, as well as Council members, on possible post-referendum scenarios and their long-term implications.

The referendum, as we are all well aware, presents us two options. The first is that Southern Sudan would remain part of the Sudanese State — a result that would consolidate the unifying approach strongly advocated by the African Union, which remains committed to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sudan. But it must also be born in mind that, in that approach, the United Nations will continue to play a role just as important as that it plays today. But we will have to consider redefining the United Nations role in helping to develop peaceful relations between Khartoum and Juba in that context, and I would invite the Council to consider that matter.

The second option is independence for Southern Sudan, which poses very considerable challenges including recognition of the new State, the establishment of harmonious diplomatic relations with Khartoum, demarcation of the North-South border, wealth-sharing and the effects of this option on Darfur and on eastern Sudan. All those challenges remind us of the need to maintain the United Nations presence in

the Sudan so that it can play its important peacemaking role. Beyond those challenges there is the future of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan. If this option is considered, the Mission's context could change, and we must look at its mandate and role in that context.

In any event, I invite the Security Council and the various actors, without prejudging the outcome of the referendum, to bear in mind the need for an international mechanism that could help in managing all of those challenges, as well as the need for strengthening close, peaceful relations between Khartoum and Juba.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We welcome the participation in today's meeting of Mr. Mbeki, Chairperson of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur, Special Representatives Gambari and Menkerios and Joint Chief Mediator Bassolé. We thank them for sharing their assessments of the situation.

The Sudan is passing through a decisive stage in its history. Success will be crucial for regional peace and stability. Our discussion reaffirms the need for a comprehensive approach to the peace process in the Sudan. Full implementation by the Sudanese parties, with the active assistance of the international community, of the North-South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) remains the irreplaceable basis for a Sudanese settlement. The Sudan's recent general elections marked an important stage in the implementation of the Agreement.

We welcome the agreement between the parties on the establishment of a bilateral mechanism to discuss disputed issues within the framework of preparations for the January 2011 referendum. Here, the role of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) should be to assist the parties in resolving their differences on the main elements of a settlement. In our view, a priority for the international community is to help create the conditions conducive to the holding of the referendum in Southern Sudan and Abyei.

The situation in Southern Sudan is a matter of concern, with grave security problems and a humanitarian crisis. Nearly 40 per cent of the population of the South needs food aid, and almost 1.5 million people are threatened by hunger. In that context, UNMIS should continue to carry out the strategy of protecting the civilian population, including expanded patrols in problematic areas of Southern Sudan. Monitoring the process of disarming the civilian population is another responsibility, along with helping to set up local mechanisms for resolving tribal disputes. But it is obvious that the main responsibility for remedying the situation lies with the Southern Sudanese authorities.

The only viable formula for resolving the problem of Darfur remains the parties' conclusion of the necessary political agreements. The most pressing task is to put in place a robust regime in Darfur to put an end to armed activities, along with mechanisms to monitor it.

The process of negotiations between the Government and rebel groups is making only sporadic progress. The international community must support the position of the Government of the Sudan, in order to rapidly achieve a comprehensive agreement to settle the Darfur conflict, and it must urge the leaders of rebel groups to resume their participation in the political dialogue, without preconditions. In our view, the rebels' approach of using various pretexts to block the Darfur negotiating process — which is under the auspices of the Joint Chief Mediator and with the assistance of Qatar — is unacceptable. The international community should condemn the destructive activities of armed groups in Darfur, which is reflected, inter alia, by the rebels' refusal to provide peacekeepers of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and humanitarian organizations with access to areas under their control and by their attempts to expand those areas. We strongly welcome UNAMID's activities and its important stabilizing role.

Settlement of the Darfur conflict is being promoted by the normalization of relations between the Sudan and Chad, which should be consolidated and supported. It is in keeping with the interests of the entire subregion.

The coming period will determine the future of the Sudan. The task of making unity attractive to the population of Southern Sudan remains a priority. We view as unacceptable all outside attempts to impose on the parties formulas for the future status of the Sudan. That fateful decision should be made solely by the Sudanese themselves.

There is a need to ensure a coherent approach by the international community to resolving Sudanese

issues. Only in that way can we make progress towards a settlement. The Sudan peace process should be based on constructive, even-handed dialogue between the international community and the Government of the country, respecting the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**Mr. Araud** (France) (*spoke in French*): I wish on behalf of France, I thank you, Mr. President, and the United Kingdom for having made possible this discussion on the Sudan and for having invited President Mbeki, Mr. Menkerios, Mr. Gambari and Mr. Bassolé to participate. I thank them for being with us today.

As all previous speakers have said, the coming period is crucial for the Sudan and its people. We must be united, which means that all international community actors must work together, first and foremost of course the United Nations and the African Union. Thanks to the joint United Nations-African Union forum set up following the Addis Ababa meeting on 8 May, structured and continuous coordination between the two organizations on all Sudan issues will now be possible, in particular on the referendum. We must take full advantage of this, in line with the principles of the United Nations Charter and Security Council resolutions.

Being united also means ensuring coherent action by the representatives of the international community. As the African Union High-Level Panel reports, we cannot isolate the Sudan conflicts: they are all interlinked.

And we must be vigilant. As the Comprehensive Peace Agreement implementation period comes to an end, we must ensure, in accordance with resolution 1919 (2010), that all stages leading to the January 2011 self-determination referendum can be completed. First of all, the Government of the Sudan must meet its own commitments. In the immediate future, the Referendum Commissions, which are key in organizing next January's poll, must be established. France and the European Union are prepared to provide technical and financial support in organizing the referendum. The deployment of European Union observers could also help to make the process more transparent.

In the run-up to the referendum, the parties must also make significant progress in settling outstanding post-referendum issues, which, as already noted, include demarcating the borders, clarifying the modalities for wealth-sharing and resolving citizenship issues. Postponing those questions will only raise questions about the credibility of the referendum.

The United Nations must also help in this process, both with logistical support for meeting deadlines and by making its expertise available to the parties. Here, we expect that the Secretariat will play an active role in supporting the parties. The Security Council should remain vigilant in the coming months, given the high stakes involved. France therefore calls for the Council to be given regular briefings and presentations on the progress in the preparations for the referendum.

Of course, the support of the United Nations should continue after the poll to implement the decision that the people of Southern Sudan will take. To that end, we have already called on the Secretariat to consider modalities for a United Nations presence following the interim period of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. This issue has already been properly raised by my colleague from Gabon.

Beyond that political support, the United Nations should monitor the humanitarian situation in the Sudan. In particular, given the reported deterioration of the humanitarian situation, the international community should consider how it can bolster its support for the development of Southern Sudan. The Council could consider that issue in the coming weeks.

Turning now to Darfur, it is essential that all parties participate in good faith in the negotiations led by Joint Mediator Bassolé and the State of Qatar. We encourage the African Union to continue its efforts to pursue this political process.

A first stage has been initiated by the Justice and Equality Movement and the Liberation and Justice Movement with the signing of framework agreements with the Sudanese Government. Those agreements should be implemented as soon as possible. All elements of the Movement for the Liberation of the Sudan should join the process. It is unacceptable for the Movement to remain outside the peace efforts.

With regard to the situation on the ground, we must not accept that the free movement of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) should be impaired by Sudanese authorities and rebel groups. The Missions should be

able to ensure the protection of civilian populations and to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance everywhere and without exception. In that regard, we are concerned about the issue of access to humanitarian assistance in camps in Darfur. We would like to have more detailed information in that regard, as well as in connection with the efforts of UNAMID to correct the situation.

Lastly, we should promote justice in the Sudan. We recently met with Mr. Moreno-Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, whose briefing was damning (see S/PV.6336). We cannot expect there to be peace and stability without justice and without combating impunity. France supports international criminal justice, and we reiterate Sudan's obligation to cooperate, pursuant to resolution 1593 (2005). In that regard, we are concerned about the Court's new report to the Security Council underscoring the lack of cooperation by the Sudan (see S/2010/265). We should follow up that communication. We cannot remain silent. Moreover, international criminal justice to judge the most serious crimes should go hand in hand with the strengthening of the Sudanese justice system. That system too must commit itself resolutely to combating impunity and to developing a mechanism for reconciliation at the local level.

In conclusion, I would like again to say that France is prepared to participate in the joint efforts to be taken so that the coming deadlines in the Sudan provide an opportunity to bolster the stability of the region and to put an end to the suffering of populations, which has continued for far too long.

**Mr. Rugunda** (Uganda): I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Chairperson of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel on Darfur, for his briefing and for the Panel's highly commendable work. I also thank Mr. Gambari, Joint Special Representative for Darfur and head of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID); Mr. Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS); and Mr. Bassolé, the Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator, for their commendable work and for their briefings on the situation in the Sudan.

Uganda welcomes the progress that has been made towards peace and stability in the Sudan. The recently concluded national elections, the ongoing implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and efforts to resolve the Darfur conflict through the Doha peace process are significant developments. We salute the good work by the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel and we welcome the progress being made through a widely consultative and inclusive approach. We also commend UNAMID and UNMIS, under the leadership of Mr. Gambari and Mr. Menkerios respectively, for the contributions they are making to resolving the issues in the Sudan.

My delegation welcomes the commitment expressed by the Government of the Sudan to work jointly with the Panel on all steps to be taken towards advancing peace, justice and reconciliation. Furthermore, we welcome the commitment by the Government to agree to a joint implementation and monitoring mechanism, both on Darfur and on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

While we commend the progress made, we must acknowledge that the Sudan is entering a critical stage. There are still key outstanding issues that need to be addressed to ensure the restoration of peace in Darfur, the full implementation of the CPA and agreement on post-referendum arrangements. We are concerned about the recent upsurge of incidents of violence in Darfur. We call upon the parties to respect the ceasefire and to commit themselves to the peaceful resolution of the conflict through the Doha peace process.

It is important to ensure the full and timely implementation of the CPA. We call upon the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) to adhere to the timelines for the remaining tasks. The holding of the recent national elections, in spite of their shortcomings, attests to progress towards democratic transformation in the Sudan.

Given the fact that, according to the CPA, the referendum in Southern Sudan should be held by 9 January 2011, there is an urgent need to expedite the establishment and operationalization of the Referendum Commission and the demarcation of the north-south border and of the Abyei border. It is therefore critical that the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the United Nations and the wider international community render greater support towards accomplishment of the remaining tasks. That will entail UNMIS, among

others, providing technical and logistical support to the Referendum Commission to ensure that the referendum is held as scheduled and that it is free, fair, transparent and credible.

Finally, it is incumbent upon the leadership of the NCP and the SPLM, as parties to the CPA, to maintain their political goodwill and commitment to the full and timely implementation of the CPA.

Uganda supports the elements of the President's remarks to the press prepared by the delegation of the United Kingdom.

**Mr. Onemola** (Nigeria): I would like to thank President Mbeki, Ambassador Gambari, Mr. Menkerios and Mr. Bassolé for their very useful briefings this morning on the situation in the Sudan. They have not only provided useful insights, but also given us a comprehensive picture of the interlocking dimensions of the challenges that lie ahead in the country. I commend them for their individual and collective efforts in the Sudan. The Council is now better informed on what needs to be done in the next 12 months, especially.

The Sudan is at a critical juncture. With the elections of April over, the business of inclusive governance, starting with the formation of a Government of national unity, must gather momentum in order to translate lofty promises into concrete results. It is therefore important for the Government of the Sudan and all political leaders to press forward with the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Dialogue rather than force is the key to solving the Sudan's problems. Accordingly, we call on all parties to adhere and recommit to the CPA.

The 2011 referendum is a central pillar of the CPA. Its organization and outcome will have far-reaching implications. It is therefore important that preparations for the referendum be inclusive, transparent, forward-looking and thorough. The international community, in particular the Security Council, should support the processes leading to the referendum. In this regard, the security challenge in the Sudan referred to by both Mr. Menkerios and Ambassador Gambari must be given adequate attention. Neither the Government of the Sudan nor the African Union acting alone can meet the security needs in the Sudan. It will take a global effort to cope with the situation. The Security Council, with its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has a key role to play.

Support for and progress in the Doha peace process will go a long way towards creating stability in the Sudan, and more especially Darfur. The deep mistrust that exists among the parties impedes progress. We therefore call on the parties to engage constructively and meaningfully in the peace process.

The continued presence of the United Nations through the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur is a necessary complement to the peace process. It is important, however, for the United Nations to integrate its peace and security efforts with robust development assistance in Darfur. The real dividends of peace will be felt when recovery, reconstruction and development take place in tandem. Otherwise, the goal of integration through the voluntary return of internally displaced persons may remain elusive.

For the United Nations, success in the Sudan will depend on the predictability, sustainability and flexibility of funding. This issue was well articulated in the Prodi report (see A/63/666) and should be acted upon. Of equal significance is the need to look beyond the Multi-Donor Trust Fund as a means of supporting African Union peacekeeping capacity. The African Union lacks the capacity to undertake single-handed the wide range of activities associated with early warning, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction in the conflict zones dotted throughout Africa. I hope that our consultations today will help in this direction.

**Mr. Apakan** (Turkey): I would like begin my remarks by welcoming all the esteemed dignitaries — President Mbeki, Mr. Gambari, Mr. Menkerios and Mr. Bassolé — who have briefed the Council today. We appreciate their hard work and thank them for sharing their valuable insights and recommendations with us.

The Sudan is at a crossroads, not only geographically but also politically. How developments unfold in the months ahead will have implications far and wide. The United Nations and the international community have invested heavily in bringing peace to the Sudan, and that effort has yielded significant dividends. Important progress has been made with the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), and such crucial milestones as the Abyei decision and the recent national and presidential

elections have been met. The Sudan and Chad have normalized their relations and, in Darfur, a political process has been set in motion, with specific mechanisms to address outstanding issues.

All these efforts in the right direction notwithstanding, it is also clear that, be it in Darfur or Southern Sudan, the situation overall remains fragile and volatile. Armed clashes and widespread violence are perpetuating insecurity, which in turn is driving displacement and criminality. Much remains to be done to achieve a stable state of security.

Turkey is committed to the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Sudan. On the other hand, Turkey has lent its full support to the CPA since its inception. In the coming months, the body politic in the Sudan and the Council's attention will focus largely on ensuring the full implementation of the CPA and on addressing post-referendum arrangements. In that context, we believe that the United Nations will continue to have a central role to play not only in helping to build mutual trust and confidence between the parties, but also in assisting them in their negotiations and giving support, if requested, for the referendums and popular consultation processes. The United Nations continued presence after the referendums will also be vital in helping the Sudan to move forward.

On the other hand, while they are not comparable, it is clear that CPA implementation, peace and peace efforts in Darfur are separate but not separable processes. Stagnation in one invariably impedes progress in the other. Therefore, while there is no direct linkage, every effort should be made to create a mutually reinforcing and positive relationship between the CPA and the Doha peace process.

As concerns Darfur, the Doha process is vital, since security cannot realistically be attained in the absence of a comprehensive political settlement. International pressure must be applied on rebel groups to participate constructively in Doha. They must not be allowed to bide their time and hedge their bets on the possibility of the CPA's unravelling. A clear pronouncement to rebel groups that the Doha peace process is not an open-ended one and that there is no alternative to peace talks would be useful.

Be it with regard to the CPA or the Doha process, it is also crucial to ensure that, in tandem with restoring mutual trust and confidence, the right incentives remain in place. In Doha, the parties must be able to perceive win-win situations where their genuine grievances and rational expectations are being duly met with meaningful and fair compromise package solutions. In the context of the CPA, both parties need to understand that, regardless of the results of the referendums and popular consultations, they are bound to live together. This interdependence is a reality that has, unfortunately, been drawn out by simplistic interpretations of the CPA. It is counterproductive to present the potential outcome of the referendum in the South as a foregone conclusion. Both sides must be allowed to make their case, as envisaged in the CPA. In this vein, it must be made clear once again that the referendum in the South does not imply finality, but is part of a larger process that has to be managed very carefully.

In that connection, as my British colleague mentioned, the leadership of the Council has a strategic context, and we must make sure that the United Nations involvement in the Sudan is not in any way seen to prejudge the outcome of the referendum.

Meanwhile, whether they are ensured by the United Nations, the Government of the Sudan or the Government of Southern Sudan, the protection of civilians and humanitarian assistance should be given the highest priority. In taking the process forward, continuing to cultivate national ownership of the problems at hand, including at the grass-roots level, will also be crucial since, ultimately, whether in Darfur or with regard to the CPA, genuine solutions to existing problems can be found only by the Sudanese themselves.

Finally, it will be important to effectively take into consideration the many regional dynamics in play. Successfully incorporating regional approaches and addressing concerns, whether of neighbours or organizations such as the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, into the solutions that are being worked on in the Sudan will help prevent larger problems from emerging later in the process. In this regard, Turkey continues to believe that the report of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur is, as a whole, extremely important. That report, in particular in its findings and recommendations, constitutes a point of reference for all parties in the conflict in the Sudan. Based on the report, continued active leadership on the part of the African Union

High-Level Implementation Panel will be vital to ensuring peace and stability in the Sudan.

I will conclude by making the observation that the CPA has been supported by the international community because it has brought peace to the Sudan. The true test for the CPA and the parties will be about not whether a specific outcome is reached in the referendum, but whether peace can be sustained. That, of course, will largely depend on the choices that the parties to the CPA will make. Those choices will also shape the response of the international community to developments in 2011.

The United Nations and the Security Council, together with the international community, must ensure that the choices made now are those that favour peace, stability, harmony and prosperity through compromise, mutual respect and understanding. The Council and the international community should ensure the full implementation of the CPA while also demonstrating political wisdom, foresight and flexibility when the greater good requires it. Ultimately, the goal is to provide a framework through which the peaceful coexistence of North and South can be assured in the long term, in whatever shape or form it best suits the hopes of the Sudanese people.

**Mr. Takasu** (Japan): I would like to thank President Mbeki, Mr. Menkerios, Mr. Gambari and Mr. Bassolé for their insightful briefings. It is a rare and valuable opportunity for the Council to be briefed by the four main players collectively working for peace in the Sudan. Today's briefings showed clearly that each speaker, within his mandate and capacity, is contributing greatly, and in a complementary manner, to the achievement of peace and security in the Sudan and the region as a whole. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to their invaluable work, and also to all United Nations personnel working there under difficult conditions.

The Sudanese parties concerned have made a strenuous effort to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) since 2005, despite the many difficulties they have encountered. Japan would like to commend the efforts of all Sudanese parties and international entities involved. The appointment of the members of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission is testimony to those efforts. The primary mover bringing about peace in the Sudan must be the Sudanese people themselves. The United Nations, the African Union and the international community as a whole fulfil a supporting role by assisting the national efforts of the people of the Sudan.

The referendum to be held in January of next year is the culmination of the implementation of the CPA, and we should provide every possible support to make it a success. We also support the agreement of the CPA parties and encourage them to engage in discussion on their own of post-referendum arrangements. If it is requested and deemed necessary, we hope very much that President Mbeki will play a role as mediator between the parties. We put our trust in his wisdom and guidance.

It is vitally important that the parties concerned accept and respect the outcome of the referendum, regardless of the result, and we urge the CPA parties and the international community to maintain and promote constructive relations. Based on this principle, I wish to encourage Sudan's neighbouring countries, and the African Union in particular, to support the people of the Sudan for the stability of that country.

It is also important to start exploring the future role of the United Nations, in close coordination with the parties concerned. Trust and confidence between North and South must be promoted to serve their mutual interests. In so doing, it is of key importance to examine the issues, outlined by the CPA parties, of security along the North-South border, oil and pipelines, citizenship and freedom of movement. A framework must be established for populations near the border to discuss common problems openly and to promote regular dialogue. Japan attaches particular priority to the development of human resources in the North and South through training and the creation of employment. We urge the international community to accelerate its efforts to provide support in this area.

There is a consensus on the importance of achieving comprehensive peace in Darfur. The resumption of the Doha peace process is welcome, thanks to efforts led by Mr. Bassolé and Foreign Minister Al-Mahmoud of Qatar. I wish to reiterate his appeal to all parties — the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and others — to engage actively in this process. Dialogue should also continue with Mr. Minnawi's group concerning the signing of a peace agreement with the Government. I am confident that

Mr. Gambari will do his best to promote dialogue for peace at the grass-roots level.

We are deeply concerned with the deteriorating security situation in Darfur. The JEM is increasing its military offensive operations and expanding its area of activity beyond Darfur. One of the causes is the proliferation of small arms in Darfur and in the South. We must act now to enforce the arms embargo and other sanctions measures by promoting advocacy and working with civil society organizations. The future stability of the Sudan depends on achieving a lasting peace in Darfur and constructive relations between the North and the South. Every representative here today is playing an important role in achieving the common goal of realizing peace, security and development in the Sudan. Their close coordination and cooperation with each other is essential.

I would like to conclude by reiterating Japan's strong commitment to sustainable peace and prosperity in the Sudan.

**Mrs. Viotti** (Brazil): Let me start by joining earlier speakers in extending a warm welcome to President Thabo Mbeki. Brazil commends his leadership and the excellent work of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel. I thank Special Representatives Ibrahim Gambari and Haile Menkerios and Joint Chief Mediator Djibril Bassolé for their statements. More importantly, we commend them for their invaluable work.

This meeting reflects and consolidates the relatively new integrated approach the United Nations has been taking to Sudanese affairs. Such an approach is imperative, since the various Sudanese crises are all merely different manifestations of the tension between centre and periphery in the Sudan, political, economic or cultural. Today's briefing also celebrates the fruitful partnership between the United Nations and the African Union, combining the Charter-based authority of the Security Council with the African Union's extensive knowledge of the political and cultural context in which African conflicts occur, and Africans' determination to play an active and constructive role in the resolution of such conflicts. In Sudan, in particular, that partnership is indispensable, given the importance of the country's affairs not only to its immediate vicinity, but also to the continent as a whole.

This meeting is also an effort by the Security Council to be ahead of events and engage in truly preventive diplomacy. My delegation encourages the Council to conduct similar exercises with respect to other issues on its agenda that require the same kind of forward-looking attitude.

I would like to make brief comments on a few aspects of the issue at hand. On Sudan as a whole, we attach great importance to the coordination of the various international actors involved. If international action is to be fully effective, not only do we have to deal with Sudan in a holistic manner, but we also need to ensure that multilateral and regional organizations, peacekeeping missions, mediation teams, special envoys, donors and other stakeholders move in the same direction and support each other. For that to happen, we must rely on adequate coordination mechanisms.

The well-coordinated support of the international community was crucial to the positive outcome of the negotiations that led to the adoption of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Its full implementation will require the same unity of purpose, in particular to assist the parties to overcome their differences and mutual distrust. That is key not only to help them make the difficult decisions that still lie ahead, but also to build productive and cooperative relations after the referendum. The meetings held in Addis Ababa in early May, particularly the consultative meeting of 8 May, were positive steps in the right direction. The challenge now is to ensure that those initiatives are focused and effective and that they receive the proper follow-up.

Another aspect of utmost importance is ensuring that the referendums are not only fair and credible but are also perceived as such by the parties and the population. To that end, no efforts should be spared in appropriate preparation. The United Nations must be ready to assist the parties, at their request, in whatever they need, including in the determination of the modalities for the holding of the referendums and popular consultations.

Assistance must also be provided, as requested by the parties, to facilitate arrangements on wealth-sharing, power-sharing, citizenship rights, borders and currency, among other sensitive issues, irrespective of the outcome of the southern referendum. Needless to say, such assistance must be rigorously consistent with the CPA and must in no way prejudge or influence the results of the referendums and popular consultations.

The strict impartiality of the United Nations is the political sine qua non condition of this necessary exercise in preventive diplomacy.

The wide acceptance of the results of the southern referendum and its timely implementation will also depend on the prevalence of an environment that is at least minimally peaceful. To that end, it will be important to intensify current efforts to address the immediate challenges posed by food insecurity, intertribal clashes and fragile security institutions. The United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) and bilateral and multilateral donors have a particularly relevant role to play in that regard. A modicum of stability will also be needed in the aftermath of the referendum.

This means that the United Nations presence in Sudan will likely be required beyond the transitional period established by the CPA in order to help maintain peace, provide security and implement the outcome of the referendum, whatever it might be. Such a presence would need to rely extensively on the human and material resources currently available to UNMIS. Given the time required by the United Nations to mobilize and deploy resources to the field, it is important that the Secretariat develop very solid contingency plans and, if necessary, submit to Member States, as appropriate, a full assessment of the Mission's further needs. The Security Council should also begin to reflect on the possible role that the Peacebuilding Commission might play in both the unity and secession scenarios.

Finally, I wish to say a few words regarding Darfur. Reaching a peace agreement before January 2011 is very important. If that proves impossible, at least a stable ceasefire seems necessary. We fully support efforts by the Mediation to stimulate the unified representation of all rebel movements. Appropriate enforcement of the arms embargo is also key. We also support measures taken to secure ample participation of Darfurian civil society in the search for peace. In that regard, we welcome the announcement, during President Mbeki's visit to Khartoum last week, of the holding of the Darfur-Darfur conference. My delegation hopes that the participants in the initiative will discuss the issues of guaranteeing political representation to the groups excluded from last April's elections.

Fully implementing the CPA and ending the Darfur conflict are formidable challenges. If we are successful there, we will have gone a long way towards helping bring enduring peace and long-term stability to the whole African continent. We cannot but succeed.

**Mr. Mayr-Harting** (Austria): I would first like to welcome President Thabo Mbeki, Chairperson of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur, Mr. Haile Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, Joint African Union-United Nations Special Representative for Darfur, and Mr. Djibril Bassolé, Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator for Darfur, and to thank them for their presence here today and for their presentations. Let me commend them and their staffs for their tireless efforts. This high-level presence is a strong signal of our common commitment to work with the Sudanese people in addressing the challenges they face. Today's meeting is also an important symbol of collaboration between the African Union and the United Nations. We thank the United Kingdom and Lebanon for this important initiative.

The year 2010 is a crucial one for the Sudan. When the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed, the two parties pledged to do their utmost to make unity attractive. The CPA provides that the people of Southern Sudan can choose unity or secession in a referendum in January 2011. We expect both parties to fulfil their commitments to implement the CPA, which includes undertaking a credible referendum and abiding by its outcome.

This will also be a major challenge for the African Union and, in a complementary way, for the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. It will be important that they establish and maintain smooth working relations with both sides and that we extend full support to these efforts.

Without prejudging the outcome of the referendum, the international community has to step up support and diplomatic efforts in the run-up to it. Lessons learned from the election process have to be applied. The outstanding issues in the implementation of the CPA have to be resolved by the parties. These include preparation of the two referendums and public consultations, Abyei, wealth-sharing, oil-sharing and border demarcation. Contingency planning will logically also have to include the scenario of a vote in

favour of the independence of Southern Sudan and support good governance under all possible outcomes.

We must work to avert conflict, protect lives and ensure regional stability. The protection and security of civilians has to be fully guaranteed under all circumstances. In those regards, support by the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) is important, and I appreciate what Special Representative Menkerios told us today about the efforts of UNMIS to develop a mission-wide protection strategy.

Austria is concerned about the recent rise in violence in Southern Sudan. While the main responsibility for containing this violence and curbing the proliferation of weapons lies with the Government of Southern Sudan, the international community needs to increase its support, including through effective security sector reform.

While CPA implementation and referendum and post-referendum planning are of the utmost urgency, we must not lose sight of simultaneously coordinating initiates to address the conflict in Darfur. Major progress has been achieved in the improvement of relations between Sudan and Chad. However, the security situation in Darfur, as others have already said, has recently worsened, with the highest number of casualties having been logged in the month of May since the inception of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). Recent fighting between rebel and Government forces has overshadowed progress in the Darfur peace talks in Doha. We urge all parties to refrain from hostilities and to fulfil their obligations under international humanitarian and human rights law. The solution of the Darfur crisis can only be peaceful, and all parties must join the peace process.

We strongly support the efforts of both the Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator for Darfur, Mr. Djibril Bassolé, and Joint Special Representative for the African Union and UNAMID, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari. At the same time, the international community cannot wait for a peace agreement in Doha in order to take action to stabilize and improve the living conditions of the people of Darfur. We must reach consensus on moving forward with an approach that complements the Doha efforts on the ground to improve security and stabilize communities with meaningful development. There needs to be a transition from emergency relief to early recovery. We must work for durable solutions, and Austria supports a role for UNAMID in this regard.

We should also not forget about Sudanese refugees in Chad. Options for their safe and voluntary return must be explored, and they must have a stake in the peace process. Weak rule of law and human rights institutions contribute to significant gaps in the protection of civilians. Violence against civilians, especially women, remains unaddressed and the perpetrators go unpunished. These shortcomings must be urgently addressed in a comprehensive and effective manner by the Government of the Sudan. Continued attacks and obstruction of UNAMID movement and activities, as well as attacks on and the kidnapping of civilians, could be significant causes of alarm, and the Government of the Sudan must do all it can to improve security in Darfur and stop the culture of impunity.

Any sustainable peace process must also address the issue of justice and accountability, and redress for victims of human rights and humanitarian law violations. The African Union High-Level Implementation Panel on Darfur, under the leadership of President Mbeki, has our full support for its activities in achieving this goal and its role in democratically transforming the Sudan. In particular, we support the recommendation made by the Panel on ensuring accountability for the legacy of past abuses in order to ensure a peaceful future in the Sudan. We encourage the Government of the Sudan to implement the recommendations of the Panel led by President Mbeki, in particular in the justice sector.

Austria has taken note with concern of the International Criminal Court (ICC) Pre-Trial Chamber's decision of 25 May 2010 and the briefing of Chief Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo on this subject to the Council last Friday (see S/PV.6336). We wish to underline the need for the Government of the Sudan and all other parties to the conflict in Darfur to cooperate fully with the ICC. The international community, together with the Government of the Sudan, must continue to work to promote respect for human rights and democracy throughout the entire country.

My country is firmly convinced that seeking peace and securing justice are mutually reinforcing processes. It is true that, in the final outcome, justice can thrive best in an atmosphere of peace, but at the

same time it is also clear that there can be no lasting peace without justice.

My delegation thanks the United Kingdom for the draft presidential statement, which we support.

**Mr. Barbalić** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): At the outset, let me welcome His Excellency President Mbeki, Chairperson of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel for the Sudan; Mr. Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General; Mr. Gambari, Joint Special Representative; and Mr. Bassolé, Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator for Darfur, and thank them for their insightful briefings.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which is fundamental and indispensable to peace and stability in the Sudan, is reaching a critical stage. In just more than six months, referendums that will determine the future shape of the Sudan will take place. I would like to reiterate Bosnia and Herzegovina's support for the full implementation of the CPA.

Bosnia and Herzegovina takes positive note of the progress made by the CPA parties on a number of issues, including adoption of related legislation. It is of the utmost importance that the CPA parties engage constructively in order to address outstanding issues with regard to the implementation of the CPA. Border demarcation, the establishment of the conditions for peaceful referendums, and post-referendum arrangements must be prioritized.

The level of cooperation between the Government of the Sudan and the Government of Southern Sudan in the pre- and post-referendum periods will determine the destiny not only of the Sudan but of the entire region. We hope that the CPA parties will resolve all outstanding issues in a friendly and peaceful manner for the benefit of their peoples.

It must be made clear that no option can leave any side a loser. If unity prevails, a just power-sharing system must be established. Moreover, the diversity and equality of all regions, including Darfur, have to be respected. On the other hand, if independence is chosen, both sides must unite around the values and principles of friendly relations and good cooperation.

The Sudan is a good example of close cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union. The symbiosis of a universal and regional organization and their collaboration in Darfur through their hybrid mission, the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), have not only contributed to an improved situation on the ground, but strengthened hope and paved the way for peace, as well. Experiences from this joint endeavour will help in anticipating solutions for other conflicts and crises in Africa.

A just solution has to be found for the people of Darfur, who have suffered for too long. A lasting solution for Darfur must include the equal participation by the people of Darfur in the decision-making process and the creation of conditions that will prevent any marginalization of Darfur or its people. Substantial numbers of the population in affected areas and internally displaced persons did not participate in the elections held in April. To address this issue, the Government of the Sudan must find a way to ensure that their voices are integrated into the political process.

Bosnia and Herzegovina supports the political process and mediation efforts in Doha. It is vital that the Doha peace process take place within the timeline of the CPA. As the parties missed an opportunity to conclude peace talks before the elections, it has now become essential to achieve a comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur as soon as possible in order to ensure that its provisions are implemented before the referendum. We call upon all parties to engage constructively to reach a final peace agreement and put an end to the conflict in Darfur.

We commend the African Union High-level Panel and its efforts to reveal the root causes of the conflict in Darfur and marvelous articulation of recommendations for its settlement. The findings of the Panel have also significantly contributed to a better understanding of the situation in the Sudan in its entirety.

It is essential that at this crucial time, regardless of the future status of Southern Sudan, priority be given to capacity-building of its authorities in order to provide security and deliver services to the population. Only a viable Southern Sudan with a strong local structure will contribute to peace and stability within the region.

Bosnia and Herzegovina welcomes the improvement in Chad-Sudan relations and their positive influence on the Doha peace process. Their

cooperation along the border has had a positive impact on the security situation on the ground. There will always be an interconnection between the situation in the Sudan and the peace and stability of the region. The people of the Sudan will resolve their own problems, but an enabling environment in the region will also facilitate positive developments in the Sudan.

The African Union Panel wisely contemplated the interconnection among peace, justice and reconciliation in the Sudan. The Sudanese by themselves, with the assistance of the international community, must find a golden equilibrium among peace, justice and reconciliation in order to enter the new phase of a democratic and prosperous Sudan.

At this stage, it is vital that the Governments of the Sudan and Southern Sudan, as well as the international stakeholders, draw lessons from the elections held in April and utilize all resources to better prepare for conducting the referendums in Abyei and Southern Sudan. It is encouraging that the United Nations Mission in the Sudan has already completed its team for the preparation of the referendums.

In conclusion, at this critical time all peace processes in the Sudan — resolution of the conflict in Darfur, the CPA, and North-South relations — deserve the full attention of the international community. We must all assist the peoples of the Sudan to find their way towards a better future for their country and the entire region.

**Mr. Li Baodong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to thank you, Sir, for convening this meeting of the Security Council on the question of the Sudan. I welcome Mr. Mbeki, Chairman of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Menkerios, Joint Special Representative Gambari and Joint Chief Mediator Bassolé to today's meeting. I thank them for their work to resolve the question of the Sudan.

The Security Council has devoted a great deal of energy to the question of the Sudan. At this critical moment in the peace process in the Sudan, I would like to emphasize the following two points. First, the question of the Sudan is complicated but progress has been achieved. The Sudan is the largest country in Africa. The maintenance of its peace and stability bears on the overall situation of peace in its region and the African continent. Thanks to the tireless efforts of the international community, the framework arrangements on the question of the Sudan have basically been established and their implementation is proceeding. Progress has been achieved in the peacekeeping deployments and the political negotiation in the Darfur region. The Sudan's national elections were held successfully and preparations are under way for the referendum in the South as the final step in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). These developments demonstrate that the people of the Sudan want stability and that there is strong public support for the political settlement of the question of the Sudan.

However, the question of the Sudan is complex. Its satisfactory resolution will test the political wisdom of the parties concerned. In the coming months, the challenges will be even more daunting. We believe that, so long as the concerned parties prioritize peace and stability in the Sudan and Africa, cooperate in good faith and move towards each other, it will be possible to successfully address the difficulties and challenges in the final stage of the Sudan peace process.

Secondly, it is necessary to fully exploit the unique role of the African Union (AU) in the question of the Sudan, as seen in the diplomatic practice of recent years in Africa in the area of peace and security. The AU's comprehensive involvement in the question of the Sudan is unprecedented. The AU initiated the peacekeeping operations in Darfur and played the role of fire brigade in containing the conflict in Darfur. The AU and the United Nations created the joint operations peacekeeping model in Darfur. The Sudanese Government, the African Union and the United Nations trilateral mechanism has functioned effectively on Darfur. In all this, the African Union has played the role of bridge and link in the international process on the question of the Sudan. This model of cooperation has provided the international community with new experience in handling regional hot spots.

Over the past year, the AU High-Level Panel on Darfur, under Mr. Mbeki, has studied the question of the Sudan in depth and made comprehensive and practical proposals for achieving peace and reconciliation through cooperation in the Sudan. We expect the AU to continue to play an important role in the next stage of the peace process in the Sudan. We believe that the AU will enjoy further success in maintaining peace and stability on the African continent.

China has worked tirelessly to promote the proper resolution of the question of the Sudan. We have actively participated and promoted the dual-track system and the trilateral mechanism so as to build a framework of international cooperation on Darfur. Chinese peacekeepers have always stood on the front line of international peacekeeping in the Sudan. The Government and private sector of China have made practical contributions to the Sudan's economic development and the improvement of people's lives.

We sincerely support the African Union's playing an important role in the question of the Sudan in the future. The Chinese Government will continue to act in a responsible manner to actively promote the peace process in the Sudan and to make its own contributions to peace in Africa.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

We welcome the presence of President Mbeki and thank him for his briefing. We also welcome Mr. Menkerios, Mr. Gambari and Mr. Bassolé. We are grateful for their briefings, since they all symbolize the work of the international community. Their actions with respect to the situation in the Sudan are invaluable contributions to the work of this Council in the search for peace and justice in that country.

As has been noted, the Sudan is facing a defining moment for its future. As we move towards the completion of the transitional period established by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the challenges to consolidating peace and stability throughout the country remain extensive. Six months before the holding of the national referendum, the situation is a major challenge not only to the country, but also to the international community, which is responsible for ensuring the well-being of the Sudanese people. Hence, a timely and coordinated response is expected from the United Nations and its partners in order to avert any possible return to the armed conflict faced by thousands of Sudanese for more than two decades.

Today, we are analysing the different options for cooperation with the Sudan. Although points of view may differ with respect to identifying priorities, the common denominator remains ensuring a better future for the Sudanese people through peace, dialogue and mutual respect among the parties.

The parties have made some significant progress since the implementation of the CPA began. Nonetheless, important elements of the Agreement remain unfulfilled due largely to a lack of trust among the signatories. That is the first obstacle that we must overcome in the coming months if we want to prepare the conditions for holding a successful referendum. We agree that the priority of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) in the coming months must be the preparation for the referendum. The logistical and security support that the Mission can offer the parties is critical to ensuring comprehensive and peaceful participation. The lessons learned from the recent election process, especially with respect to voter registration and the transportation of equipment, will allow the Mission to better respond to the difficulties on the ground.

Nonetheless, and mindful of the resources at the disposal of UNMIS, we must not forget that all efforts must be accompanied by the protection of civilians and the facilitation of the delivery of humanitarian assistance, since both are complementary to the success of the election process and the outcome of the voting. The parties must have a clear vision of the framework to govern relations among them following the referendum. The international community must do all in its power to facilitate dialogue among the parties and to offer its assistance when requested in order to achieve a satisfactory agreement prior to the ballot.

As the implementation of the provisions of the agreement moves forward, the United Nations will have the opportunity to collaborate in other very important areas, among them the drafting of contingency plans and capacity-building for the Government of Southern Sudan so that it can offer the basic services that its population requires. The drafting of comprehensive contingency plans at the national level must be a priority of the Organization in the coming months. Whatever the end result of the referendum, the international community must stand ready to respond rapidly and effectively to any scenario.

For years, the tragic situation in Darfur has engaged the conscience of millions around the world, including in my country, where broad sectors of society have called on the Security Council to ensure the protection of the civilian population and to resolutely promote a lasting solution to the conflict.

Today, that call takes on particular significance as thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons in that region of the Sudan will find themselves affected by the strategic decisions that the Organization will take following this debate; hence the need to adopt a broad-based approach to the situation in the Sudan and in Darfur. What happens in Darfur must be linked to the broader context of what is happening in the rest of the Sudan.

That holistic vision must be accompanied by a reorganization of the various efforts of the actors on the ground. The international community must maintain close cooperation in order to address the difficult challenges facing the Sudan. The United Nations must maintain a single channel of communication with the African Union High-Level Panel and the various regional initiatives for the good of the political process in that country.

Furthermore, regarding Darfur, instances of progress the ground must serve as the true measures of progress in the political process. In that way, in the coming months, the international community should ensure a cessation of hostilities and the return of all parties to the negotiating table. The Security Council should do its utmost so that all rebel factions join the mediation process under way. The rebel leaders must see that the international community is not prepared to indefinitely support their aspirations to the cost of the civilian population.

Whatever the situation following the referendums, the Sudan will begin a fragile transition period, which will require the support of the countries of the region and the international community. From that standpoint, the United Nations will continue to have an important role in helping the population. By remaining in the Sudan, the Organization will be in a position to continue not only to meet its obligation to maintain international peace and security, but also to work to improve the situation of thousands of people who still face devastating violence and poverty.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council and shall invite Mr. Mbeki to make a few concluding remarks. I give him the floor.

**Mr. Mbeki**: Perhaps I should say first of all that I was very pleased that the rest of the members of our Panel were able to come to this meeting. Behind me are sitting former Presidents Abubakar and Buyoya, the other members of our Panel.

It would seem to me from the comments that h been made by Council members here that we generally in agreement and of one mind about immediate challenges facing us with regard to all elements that relate to Sudan — Darfur, Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and so Thus, there is general agreement on the kind of f that is required. I think that it is a very good thing that sort of consensus has developed within Security Council. Certainly, from the point of vie those of us who have to attend to the matter of S every day, I think that the comments that have made here by members of the Security Council in reinforce the cooperation that is taking place an ourselves on a daily basis in Sudan so that we advance on all of these matters.

The only other point that I would like to mak that regard is that generally we are very optim about this. I think the point has been made that thing that has happened as a result of the electio that the two principal players, particularly with re to the CPA — the National Congress Party and Sudan People's Liberation Movement — have eme strengthened from the elections. That has of c communicated the message to them of the cr importance of their cooperating properly so that al things that need to be done are done.

Therefore, all of us will continue to engage them to ensure that they do indeed live up to responsibilities, because, without that, we are not g to achieve the solutions that we are looking f Sudan.

I think that the atmosphere is very encouragi the sense that there is a commitment to making that these things happen despite all the problem all the challenges. I would like to believe that a s message from the Security Council to encourage parties to live up to their responsibility would h help in making sure that we advance the entirety agenda relating to resolution of the challenges i Sudan.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): There a further speakers inscribed on my list. The Sec Council has thus concluded the present stage consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*